J [550 cont.]
782 wind blowing through them is supposed to be a tribute to the soul
774 of the rice. Another example of the Javanese belief that the rice
824 is animated is the custom in some areas of attributing to it a sexual urge which must be aroused to obtain a rich harvest. From
J this there arose the custom of having men and women walk naked
[833] around the fields during the night hours and make offerings to linga and yoni, that is, have sexual intercourse. A similar cus-
A tom is found among the Christian Ambonese in connection with
782 clove cultivation. If the condition of the plants indicates a poor
779 crop, the man visits his garden at night, undresses, and, while
833 standing near the trees, he makes the motions of coitus to try to make them bear abundant fruit. This custom, too, is only a survival of the old animism.

Mk Before leaving this subject, we want to point out that the
776 worship of Dewi Sri also exists among the Makassarese and Buginese. The latter call her Sangiyan Sarri (sarri = sri; sangijan, actually sangiyang = a kind of spirit, the same as sanghyang). Sangiyan sarri is the goddess of the rice and is often identified with it.

e. Spirits

Mk
J
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771 It is self-evident that among such peoples as the Javanese, Buginese, and Makassarese, who are already more civilized, we find animism only in survivals. Among the pagan peoples, however, who are less civilized, it is much more in the fore-
Bt ground. We want to show this with a few examples.

NG [551] The Papuans ascribe a soul to all objects. For ex-
774 ample, the soul of trees is the mist; that of boiling water is the steam. The same applies to the Batak. Among them everything, including human beings, has a soul, tondi. This is the
Ng case also among the Olo-Ngadju Dajak. They, however, have
774 special names for the soul of living and inanimate objects. The souls of human beings and animals and of a few inanimate objects, such as rice, money, cloth, etc., are called hambaruan,

2: Wilken--687 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia
Javanese OE5
Makassar OGb

J 785 [634 cont.]
themselves with disgusting food. They go without sleep as much as possible or sleep in a tree or in a cave where there is scarcely room to stretch their tired limbs. In this way they seek death of the self, life in death.

There are other ascetics, however, who do not seclude themselves in the mountains, but continue to live in society, surrounded by the stir of the world. For instance, Mr. Swaving saw one in 1859 at the market in Toeloeng Agoeng in Kediri in a little cubbyhole that was closed off by a muslin curtain. When he asked what it meant, he learned that a Sang tåpå lived there, old in years and famous for his wisdom and piety.

The name dépok distinguishes this kind of hermit from the others who retire from public life.

g. The Religion of the Buginese and Makassarese

MK 797 177 When the Portuguese arrived in the Malay Archipelago, the Buginese and Makassarese were still pagans; not until around the beginning of the seventeenth century was Islam introduced to the southern part of Celebes, by missionaries from Sumatra and Malaya in particular. It quickly took root here to such an extent that it soon became the popular religion and has remained so to this MK day. Both knowledge of this doctrine and the observance of it, 771 however, are very little known among the people [635] and are limited to the external ceremonies. Therefore many traces of MK the former pagan worship remain, and among them there are a 174 few ceremonies that hark back to the Hindu period. As we saw earlier, southern Celebes must also have been a dependency of the ruler of Modjopahit, and consequently Hinduism was intro- MK duced there by Hindu-Javanese. We shall now briefly discuss 771 this Hinduism, at least as it has been preserved up to the present in a few ceremonies, as well as the ancient Polynesian religion.

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo killings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
● 771 at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura-La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

M 175 565 tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]

[114] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M 793 838 231 881 304 574 I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst] This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati. But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M 182 ●771 Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I reminded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I 181 Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the ~~preoccupations~~, and the Dutch, in order to rule

M 6065 521 conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic[illegible]life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number M 602 565 212 601 of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the M 602 171 Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not M T 582 563 771 many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

Makassar OG6
Toradja OB11

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

771 178 182 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for 776 the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them (maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata. Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo, but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also [861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the "spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala 838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which 793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got 548 much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo- 535 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over, [759] it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example, to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry, etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
● 771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence
586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-
[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place